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The Negroes of Lynchburg, Virginia

BY

BENJAMIN GUY CHILDS

Phelps-Stokes Fellow, 1920-1921

Professor of Education, Randolph-Mocon College, 1922

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Phelps-Stokes Fellowship, for the study of the Negro, was founded at the University of Virginia in 1912, through a gift from the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It is the duty of the holder of the Fellowship to stimulate and conduct investigation and to encourage and guide a wider general interest among students concerning the character, condition, and possibilities of the Negroes in the Southern States.

With this object in view the successive incumbents have organized classes for study that have been well attended and diligent. Special investigations have been carried on by each Fellow; related topics have been assigned for study by individuals and groups, and the results presented for class discussion; and from time to time men distinguished as thoughtful students of Negro life have been invited to lecture at the University.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Negro has had a great influence on the development of the Southern type of civilization. In some ways he has made distinct contributions to the general social and economic well-being. In other respects he has been an obstacle to progress. It would be well for the white people as a whole to gain a clearer understanding of the Negro's racial characteristics and to know more concerning the environment in which the Negroes live. The white man would then be in a position to offer intelligent assistance or correction, as the case demanded.

Throughout the history of Lynchburg, Negroes have formed a large element of its population, and supplied an important percentage of its labor force. At the present time there are over 1,800 Negroes employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries and about the same number in domestic and personal service in Lynchburg.

Many negroes have been migrating to Northern cities during the past few years. This movement will doubtless continue, since the restriction of European immigration has increased the demand for labor in all industrial centers. In the future, Lynchburg will have trouble in keeping its Negro labor or in replacing it by white workmen.

Abundant social opportunities are offered the Negroes in Lynchburg. There are twenty-five different Negro fraternal orders and fifteen Negro churches within the city limits. In proportion to the population, the total membership in these organizations is very large.

The Negroes of Lynchburg enjoy exceptionally good educational advantages. Forty-one teachers are engaged in their secondary and elementary schools. Due to the comparatively high salaries offered, these teachers rank most favorably with those of other cities in the State. There is a higher percentage of Negro children attending school in Lynchburg than in the average Virginia city.

The Negroes of Lynchburg have been gradually accumulating property. They now own over \$1,180,000 worth of city real estate. We might also say that twenty-two per cent of the Negro families own their homes. When we consider the Negro's present economic status with that which he occupied a few years ago, we find abundant evidence of progress.

Sanitary conditions among the Negroes of the city should, in many cases, be improved for the sake of the general health. Better streets and sidewalks are also needed in the Negro settlements. As a social investment with business aspects, the city should give these matters careful consideration.

CHAPTER II.

I. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CITY OF LYNCHBURG.

a. Early History.

The city of Lynchburg can justly lay claim to a very unique founding as well as a singular development as a city. Its history dates well back into the beginning of the eighteenth century; for it was as early as 1720 that Charles Lynch, an Irish emigrant, landed in America, and ten years later settled "Chestnut Hill," a large estate on the James River, one mile below the present site of the city. Lynch had married Sarah Clark, the daughter of a wealthy Quaker planter, to whom he had become indentured upon his arrival in America, and from the union had been born six children, the second of whom was John Lynch, the real founder of the city and the man whose name it bears.

About twenty years after the settlement of "Chestnut Hill" young John Lynch, who had inherited considerable tracts of land from his father, established a ferry across the James River, then known as the Fluvanna, at a point near the mouth of Blackwater Creek, very near the present business center of the city. This act was really the determining factor in the founding of the town, for whereas prior to this time New London, several miles north of the present site of Lynchburg, had promised to be the chief city of this entire section of the State, there immediately sprang up a natural trading and commercial center at the point where Lynch's Ferry was established.

Inspired by the possibilities of the new center as a town, John Lynch applied to the General Assembly of Virginia for a charter, and it was granted him, October, 1786. It was enacted "that forty-five acres of land, the property of John Lynch, are hereby vested in John Clarke" (and others) "to establish a town by the name of Lynchburg." It is, therefore, from this date that Lynchburg accounts its existence as an incorporated town.

It should be noted here that during the Revolutionary War

the Tories in this part of Virginia gave the people a great amount of trouble through highway robbery, cattle thieving, and other crimes. Colonel Charles Lynch, brother of John Lynch, and other prominent citizens, organized themselves, captured a large number of the marauders, tried them on evidence, punished the guilty, and thus rid this section of the State of its disturbers. The court was named in honor of Charles Lynch, who was chosen as judge, and was called for years, "Lynch's Court." This was the real origin of the name "Lynch" law in America. It is singular, however, that a lynching has never occurred in the city of Lynchburg nor, so far as is known, in Campbell County in which it is situated.

Lynch's Ferry seems to have been an advantageous location for a future town. In the first fifteen years of its life it grew remarkably. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it had 500 inhabitants, an established newspaper (*The Lynchburg Gazette*), and an Episcopal church, besides the well-known Quaker meeting-house.¹

During the first half of the nineteenth century Lynchburg took its place among the rapidly growing towns of the State. In the first twenty-five years the corporate limits were twice enlarged, the population had increased to more than 4,000 persons, and numerous industries had sprung up. At an early date the young city became a market for tobacco, which was being grown in large quantities in the entire section of the State known as the South-side. In 1830 it was rated as the leading tobacco market of the world, shipping annually more than 20,000 tons. Large tobacco warehouses had been built, and nearly two score tobacco manufactories had been established, giving employment to several thousand people. The city had also become a leading market for hogs, about 10,000 head of which were handled each year.

The town had not yet begun the exchange of commodities with the outside world through any medium save a system of man-propelled boats, which plied up and down the James to Richmond, the State capital. This proved for a long time, however, of considerable importance, reaching unusual proportions.

1. The Lynch family and a large number of other settlers were Quakers.

About 1,500 hands were employed, consisting chiefly of Negro slaves.

At the half-century mark Lynchburg had assumed the size and characteristics of a small city. The census of that year showed a population of 8,071. About one-third of the inhabitants were engaged in manufacturing, in which more than three-quarter million dollars of capital was invested. The James River Canal was now completed and the old batteaus had been supplanted by the larger and faster "canal boats." The first public school had been established in 1846, and a little later a high school was opened.

The last decade prior to the Civil War was one of great material prosperity and advancement for the thriving young city. During this period the first railroad was constructed, new churches and other public buildings were erected, more factories and business houses were established and a general progressive attitude characterized the population. Even the financial depression of 1857 seems not to have affected this city as it did others of its size. The close of the decade, however, found the city of Lynchburg much concerned with the overwhelming political and economic problems of slavery and the approaching strife between the sections of the Union that confronted the whole country.

b. Lynchburg During Reconstruction Days.

Lynchburg was one of the few Virginia cities to escape invasion by the Federal troops during the war. The four years of strife had left its impression upon the city, however. Many of its professional and business leaders had fallen in battle, its commerce and industry were paralyzed, its Negro labor was disorganized and inefficient, and a general state of anxiety and despair prevailed. For several years succeeding the Civil War, Lynchburg, in common with other cities of the South, was forced to pass through a period of slow and painful readjustment to new conditions. Virginia was re-admitted to the Union on January 24, 1870, and the people of Lynchburg joined with the other citizens of the State in a feeling of relief that the horrors and hardships of reconstruction had been overcome.

c. Lynchburg from 1871 to the Present.

With the opening of the year 1871 there came life to all of the cities and towns of the South, and Lynchburg received its share of the impetus. The city limits were again extended. Sufficient territory was annexed to give the town a combined population of over 12,000. During the Fall of 1870 and the Spring of 1871, several free public schools were opened. Separate schools were provided for boys and girls, Protestant and Catholic, white and colored. There were in all nine schools, and from this beginning there has grown what is now considered one of the finest public school systems in Virginia.²

The final quarter of the nineteenth century proved to be perhaps the era of largest growth and greatest prosperity for the city of Lynchburg. During this period the population grew from twelve to nearly twenty thousand, another railroad was built which gave the city an outlet to all sections of the country, and many manufacturing enterprises were established. Chief among the new manufactories were iron and steel plants. These plants were employed in making pipe, nails, farming implements, and other steel products. Because of the discontinuance of a number of the tobacco factories and the increase in the steel plants there came a change in the number and class of the laborers of the city. Many skilled laborers were imported from other sections of the country.

The city has likewise continued to grow during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The population, according to the Fourteenth Federal Census, is placed at 30,069, of whom 21,740 are white and 8,329 are colored.³ As a manufacturing center it takes high rank among the cities of the South. Its plants turn out annually 125,000 tons of steel pipe, about 150,000 modern plows, millions of pairs of overalls, 10,000,000 pounds of candy, 350,000 cases of shoes, as well as other finished products. The city has relinquished its place as the largest to-

2. The Virginia School Report for 1871 shows six white schools and three colored schools in Lynchburg.

3. See Table VIII of the Fourteenth United States Census.

bacco center, though it retains supremacy in the marketing of dark tobacco.

The combined banking capital is approximately \$6,000,000, deposits approximate \$20,000,000, and the total resources are over \$30,000,000. Lynchburg has an assessed valuation of \$22,500,000 in real estate and \$24,000,000 in personal property. There seems to be a bright future before this thriving metropolis of Piedmont Virginia.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGROES OF LYNCHBURG.

a. The Lynchburg Negro as a Slave.

Very little is known of the early history of the Negroes of Lynchburg. From the fact that a large proportion of the original settlers of the city were of the Quaker belief and practice, it may be inferred that few of the early Negroes were slaves.⁴

From the meager facts available it is known that when the first census of the town was taken, in June, 1816, it was discovered that over twelve hundred Negroes, about two hundred and fifty of them free, were part of the three thousand inhabitants. Thus from the beginning of Lynchburg's life as a town, an appreciable proportion of the population has been colored. It may be further observed that an unusual proportion of the Negroes were free, since in the same year that nearly twenty per cent of the Lynchburg Negroes were counted as "free persons," the percentage for the State at large was only eight. Many of the Negroes owed their freedom to the activities of the Quakers.

It is believed that the early Lynchburg Negroes were employed largely as household servants or as laborers in the tobacco fields around the town. Very soon, however, they became useful in another capacity, that of boatmen for the large fleets of batteaus plying between Lynchburg and Richmond.

4. Slave-owning Quakers came to be frowned upon by their fellows. From a report of one of the "meetings" of the Friends we quote: "We know of none among us who hold slaves. Some are concerned to instruct the black children under their care."

Large numbers of them were engaged in this "hardy calling, demanding skill, courage and strength."

One of the very interesting movements connected with the early history of Virginia is that known as the "colonization movement." Thomas Jefferson had in 1776 proposed to the General Assembly that funds be provided for the return of freed slaves who desired to go to Africa. Colonization societies were formed in many of the Southern and border states, with auxiliary societies in the principal cities and towns. One such society was formed in Lynchburg in 1825. Regular meetings were held, a large amount of money raised, and considerable work done towards carrying on this movement.

For the first fifty years following the founding of Lynchburg the Negroes were accustomed to attend religious services in the churches of their masters, where separate seats, usually galleries, were provided for them. Not a few of them became members of the white churches. In 1830, however, the first Negro church was built on Court Street, and the pastor of one of the leading white Baptist churches of the town served as minister of the new colored congregation.

The Negro population increased in numbers quite as rapidly as did the white. In 1850 the census showed a total of nearly four thousand persons of color, of whom nearly five hundred were free. Thus, it may be noted that the Negro population in 1850 exceeded the total population of the town only a quarter of a century before.

During the ten years preceding the Civil War, the colored population was very materially affected by the influx of a considerable number of freed Negroes from other States, chiefly Louisiana and Alabama. These and others of the freed Negroes of the city made up what has been called the "colored aristocracy," the influence of which may be seen in the life of the Negroes even in the present time. At the beginning of the Civil War there were nearly five thousand Negroes in Lynchburg, and more than one out of every six was free. The percentage of colored population which was free was higher than that for the State at large and considerably higher than that for any other Virginia city. Much of this was due to the "immigration" of free Negroes.

b. Negro Freedmen in Lynchburg.

The Spring of 1865 found probably about half a million Negroes in the State of Virginia, distributed among 700,000 whites. Census figures of periods near the close of the Civil War show that in the southwest counties of the State the proportion of Negroes to whites was very small, almost negligible; that among the counties of the Piedmont and Southside sections the number of Negroes ranged from about half to two-thirds of the total population. The counties surrounding the city of Lynchburg contained about an equal number of whites and blacks. In addition to the large numbers of Negroes in certain sections of the State, thousands of them had thronged to the cities and towns and there taken up their abode. Lynchburg, like a number of others of the cities of Virginia, showed an actual material decrease in the white population between 1860 and 1870, but an increase of several hundred in the Negro population. In 1865 the Lynchburg Emigration Society was formed, and under its influence one hundred and fifty Negroes were induced to go to Liberia. This is the only venture of the sort, however, that is recorded in the annals of the city. For several years after the close of the Civil War, Lynchburg was crowded with homeless and penniless Negroes. One of the causes of this unusual emigration from the smaller towns and the rural districts is attributable to the presence of military authority in Lynchburg. The Negroes believed that they would be fed and clothed by Federal quartermasters, or agents of the Freedmen's Bureau. The economic situation was disturbed by the presence of this large body of Negroes, the majority of whom could not offer the skilled or semi-skilled labor which the city demanded. It is quite evident, therefore, that most of the unskilled plantation Negroes found themselves entirely out of place in the cities. So serious did the matter finally become that it was necessary for the military officers to issue orders prohibiting Negroes from settling there unless they were absolutely unable to secure work on the farms.

Alongside the economic problem created for such cities as Lynchburg by the emancipation of the Negro, was the problem of his education. Many of the most thoughtful men in the State

urged the education of the late slaves to as thorough a degree as they were capable of receiving. They favored the education of the Negro as a matter of justice and as a means for the prevention of his becoming a burden and danger to the State. In the summer of 1865 there appeared in Virginia a considerable number of teachers from the North, sent on their mission by various philanthropic and religious societies. They opened schools at several points, in buildings usually furnished by the Freedmen's Bureau. The citizens of Lynchburg showed a decided willingness to cooperate with the Bureau and the teachers in their work of training the Negro youth. After several years these Freedmen's Bureau schools were turned over to the municipal authorities with the understanding that they should continue to receive financial support from the philanthropic societies in the North.

When the public free schools of Lynchburg were opened in 1871, there were included in the nine school buildings located in various parts of the city, three schools for colored children. Each of them was under the control of a principal and several assistants. One of these buildings remains in use today as the Polk Street Colored School.

c. The New Negro in Lynchburg.

The Negro in Lynchburg for the last fifty years has developed, in the main, just about as he has developed in many of the growing small cities of the South. The census of 1870 showed the population of the city to be about evenly divided between whites and blacks. For the next two decades, with the enlargement of the city's boundaries, the increase in tobacco manufacturing industries, and the general demands for laborers on "public works," the colored population grew much larger, but since the discontinuance of these industries on their former large scale, the number of the Negroes has actually decreased. The abrupt changes in the size of the Negro population have not always been accompanied by changes in its characteristics. For instance, we find that of the present adult population of Lynchburg, sixty-five per cent were born in Lynchburg or one of the surrounding counties, while only ten per cent were born outside of the State.

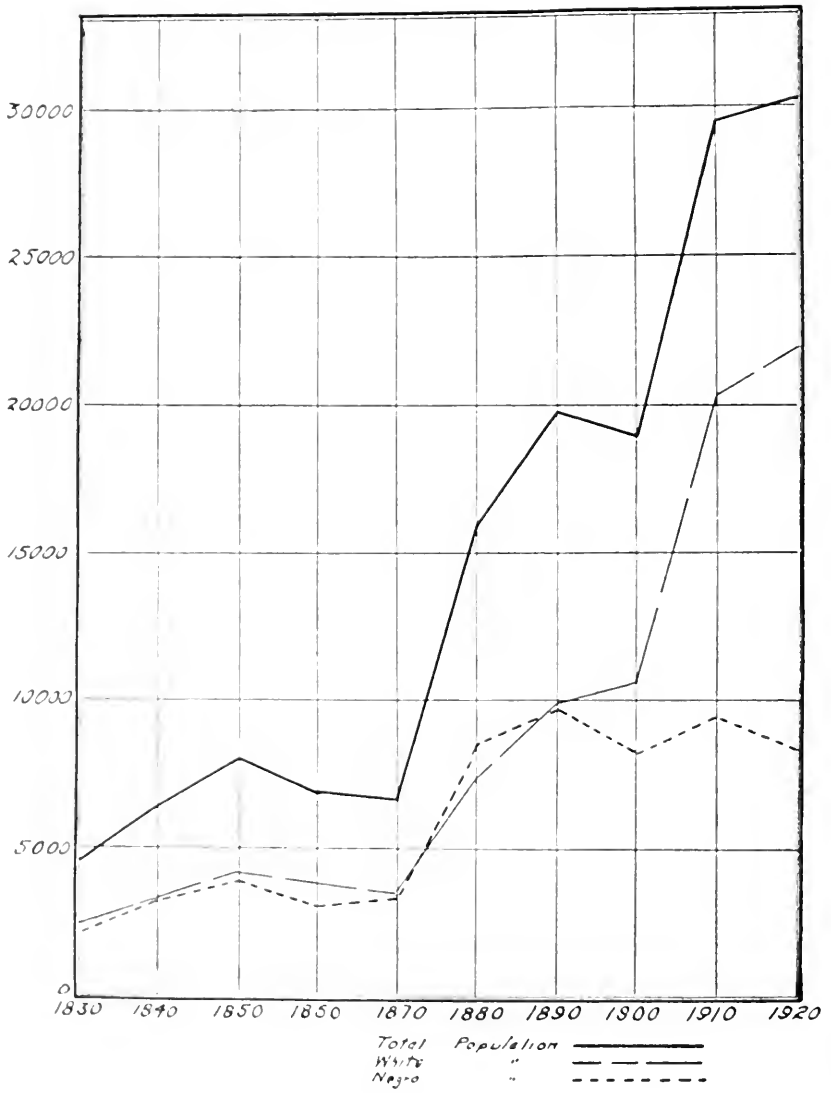
III. THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEGRO IN THE GROWTH OF LYNCHBURG.

The growth of the Negro population of the city of Lynchburg has played a considerable part in the growth of the city as a whole. A glance at Appendix I, together with graphs "A" and "B," will reveal some facts of unusual interest and importance. The period under consideration has been the one hundred years from 1820 to 1920. From the tables it will be noticed that the total population of the city has grown from 3,087 in 1820, to 30,070 in 1920, an increase of nearly 900 per cent. During the same period the white population has grown from 1,775 to 21,040, an increase of about 1,100 per cent, while the colored population advanced from 1,312, at the beginning of the century, to 8,329, a growth of over 500 per cent. It may be observed from graph "A" that for the first seven decades of the century the white and colored population show variations of about equal size and character. In other words, the social and economic changes affecting the one seem to have affected the other in the same proportion. The only exception to this general tendency appears to be for the period between 1870 and 1880.

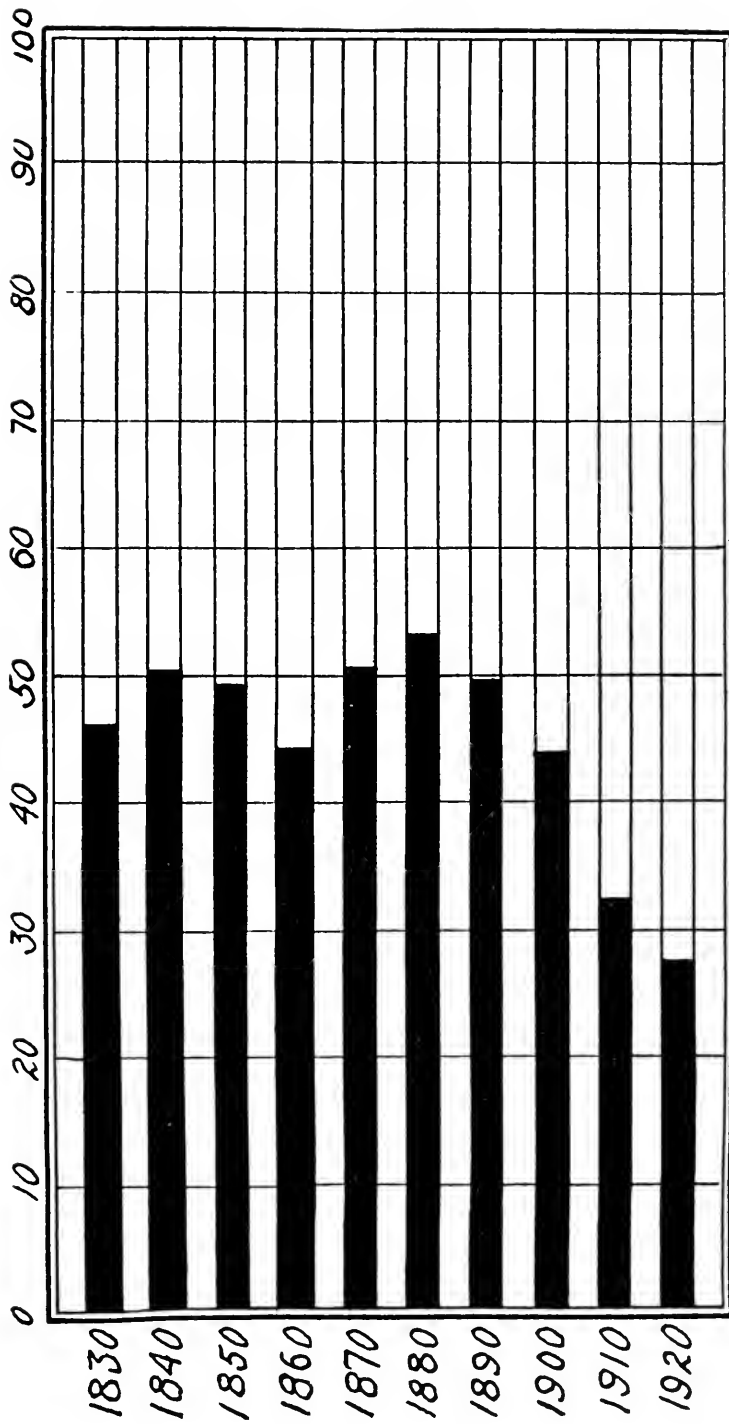
During this period Negroes furnished a larger percentage of the total population than did the whites. Since 1890 the Negro population has suffered two losses as against one gain. Thus while there were 9,802 Negroes in Lynchburg in 1890, there were only 8,299 in 1920, a net loss of 1,503. An examination of the three lines of variables in graph "A" reveals the fact that the changes in the white population more nearly approximate those of the city in general, while those in the colored population are considerably less constant. This series of facts would tend to lend color to the theory that the lower classes of a population are much more sensitive to social changes than the rest of the group.

Graph "B" shows the percentage of the whole population which has been Negro during the one hundred years under observation. It can be seen that this percentage ranges from 53.1 per cent in 1880, to 27.7 per cent in 1920. For nearly three-fourths of the century the Negroes comprised about 50 per

GRAPH "A."



GRAPH "B."



cent of the population of the city, and the average for the entire one hundred years has been 45.5 per cent. Any group which has formed such a high proportion of the population is worthy of a careful study in connection with the social and economic development of the city as a whole.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF LYNCHBURG.

a. Distribution of Colored Population in the City.

The distribution of the Negroes of Lynchburg throughout the several divisions of the city presents a very interesting picture. The writer, in his survey, found that the 8,299 persons of color are widely scattered throughout the city, and that, strictly speaking, there is no "Negro section" as such.

Table I is presented to show the actual distribution of families, dwellings and individuals by wards for the entire city:

**TABLE I: SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO
FAMILIES, DWELLINGS AND PERSONS.**

| Ward | Families | | Dwellings | | Persons | |
|------------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | White | Colored | White | Colored | White | Colored |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| I | 71.5 | 28.5 | 60 | 40 | 72 | 28 |
| II | 74.8 | 25.2 | 69.7 | 30.3 | 76.9 | 23.1 |
| III | 61.6 | 38.4 | 61 | 39 | 68.7 | 31.3 |
| City | 69.5 | 30.5 | 67.7 | 32.3 | 72.3 | 27.7 |

Thus, it will be observed that for the city as a whole the percentage of Negro families is 30.5; that of Negro dwellings is 32.3; and that of Negro persons is 27.7. It will be noted further that in none of the three wards of the city does the percentage of Negro families fall below 25 per cent, of Negro dwellings below 30 per cent, and of Negro persons below 23 per cent. It is of interest to note here that the total population of the city, both white and colored, numbering 30,070, is recorded by the census statistics as being found in 6,558 families, an average of 4.58 persons per family. The survey shows that the 8,299 colored persons were gathered into 2,002 families, an average of 4.14 persons per family. It was found further that the average number of persons per dwelling

for the entire population was 5.1, while for the Negro population the average was 4.36 persons per dwelling.

For purposes of convenience in making the survey, the city was divided into twenty sections. These sections are, however, of unequal size and shape, their boundaries being determined by wholly arbitrary lines which define sections of convenient dimensions to the investigator. It was found that in each of the twenty sections, save two, there was an appreciable number of Negro homes.

The wide distribution of the Negro population is perhaps partly due to the topographical conditions in the city. Lynchburg is a city of many hills. In the main, the homes of the whites are found on the plateaus and on the higher hillsides, while the homes of the Negroes are, in many cases, found in the valleys and on the lower stretches of the hills.

b. An Analysis of the Colored Population by Age and Sex-Groups.

A study of how the population of any community arranges itself as respects such groupings as those of age, sex, etc., is always an interesting social phenomenon. Table II presents some striking facts concerning the distribution of the Negroes of Lynchburg with reference to age and sex.

TABLE II: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF COLORED POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX.

| Ages | Male | Numbers | | Percentage | | |
|----------------|-------|---------|-------|------------|--------|-------|
| | | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Under 5 | 328 | 445 | 773 | 3.9 | 5.4 | 9.3 |
| 5-14 | 866 | 748 | 1,614 | 10.4 | 9.0 | 19.4 |
| 15-20 | 336 | 581 | 917 | 4.0 | 7.0 | 11.0 |
| 21-40 | 1,204 | 1,893 | 3,097 | 14.5 | 23.0 | 37.5 |
| 41-60 | 730 | 764 | 1,494 | 8.8 | 9.3 | 18.1 |
| 61-80 | 147 | 220 | 367 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 4.4 |
| Above 80 | 5 | 11 | 16 | | | 0.3 |
| Unknown | 15 | 6 | 21 | | | |
| Totals..... | 3,631 | 4,668 | 8,299 | 43.7 | 56.3 | 100.0 |

From the foregoing table it will be observed, first, that there is a considerable excess of females in the colored population. The males number 3,631, or 43.7 per cent of the colored population, while the females number 4,668, or 53.3 per cent of the population. It has been observed by several students of the Negro that this fact is true of all Negro urban populations, and some of these students venture the further assertion that the industrial opportunities of Negro women in cities have been greater than those of men, through their large employment in domestic service. They have concluded that the proportion of men to women is a rough index of the industrial opportunities of the Negro. The present study, however, shows that in spite of an excess of 1,057, or nearly 30 per cent, in the number of adult females over that of adult males, there is nevertheless an abundance of work for Negro males in a wide variety of occupations. (See Table XXX.)

In addition to the fact that the total number of female Negroes is greater than the total number of males, there is a considerable excess of females in every one of the various age-groups, except one. This exception occurs in the group of children between the age of five to fourteen, inclusive, in which the boys outnumber the girls by 118. The most unusual and significant cases of excess of females over males occur in the group of children under five and in the group of adults between twenty-one and forty. In the first of these groups the girls exceed the boys in number by 117, which is an excess of nearly 35 per cent. A fact of still more significance appears in the size and distribution of the second group in which there is an excess of 689, or 57 per cent, in the number of women. This abnormal difference is partially explained by the fact that the survey was made before all the young men of military age had been discharged from war duty. Another factor of importance is that a considerable number of Negro men had emigrated to cities of the North to seek employment.

When we come to examine the distribution of the two sexes taken together into the various age groups we find still further interesting and significant facts. For instance, the group of adults between the ages of twenty-one and forty, contains 3,097

individuals, a number which is 37.5 per cent of the entire colored population of the city. This percentage is unusually high for a group representing virility, vigor, energy and ambition. The group also represents an unusually large opportunity for the leaders of the race to establish ideals of sane living and good citizenship. If we add to this group those contained in the group just preceding, viz., the boys and girls from fifteen to twenty, we have over 4,000 individuals, or nearly 50 per cent of the Negroes of the city, represented in this impressionable character-fixing period of life. The table shows further that only 4.7 per cent of the Negroes have passed beyond the age of sixty, and that only 22.8 per cent are more than forty years of age. In other words, a comparatively small percentage of the Negroes of Lynchburg have reached old age, or even middle life. It should be added in this connection that any statistics relative to the ages of Negro men and women above seventy are open to doubt, as the dates of birth of these individuals are largely a matter of conjecture and not of record.

An interesting comparison as to age distribution is presented in Table III, which shows age analyses of the Negro population of Lynchburg, of the white population of the same city, and of the total population of the United States.

**TABLE III: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION BY AGE PERIODS
FOR TOTAL POPULATION OF UNITED STATES
LYNCHBURG (NATIVE WHITES) AND
LYNCHBURG (NEGROES)**

| Age Period | United States Per Cent. | Lynchburg (White) Per Cent. | Lynchburg (Negro) Per Cent. |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Under 5 | 10.9 | 10.3 | 9.3 |
| 5-14 | 20.9 | 20.5 | 19.4 |
| 15-20 | 8.9 | 9.7 | 11.0 |
| 21-45 | 38.4 | 41.4 | 39.8 |
| Above 45 | 20.8 | 18.1 | 20.5 |
| Unknown | .1 | .1 | .1 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the entire table presented above lies in the small variation in percentages in all

groups and in all age periods of life. In none of the age groups is there a divergence of more than 3 per cent among the three classes of population under comparison. The most noticeable difference between the distributions of age groups for native whites and Negroes of Lynchburg occurs in the periods of later life, and of early manhood and womanhood. There are 2.4 persons more in each 100 individuals above the age of 45 among the colored population than among the whites of the same age period; and there are 1.6 persons more per 100 among the early adult blacks than the corresponding age periods of the white population. The nearness with which the percentages for both native whites and Negroes of Lynchburg approaches the figures for the United States as a whole, indicates that in this phase of its composition, the age-characteristics of the population, Lynchburg is a typical city of the country.

c. Marital Condition of Negroes in Lynchburg.

There are 5,907 persons of both sexes above the age of fifteen, among the colored population of Lynchburg. Of this number 2,506 are male and 3,402 are female. Table IV is presented for the purpose of showing the distribution of these 5,907 Negroes according to their marital condition.

TABLE IV: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES ABOVE 15 ACCORDING TO MARITAL CONDITION.

| | Number | | | | | Per Cent. | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|---------|------|------|-----------|--------|---------|------|------|
| | Total | Single | Married | Wid. | Div. | Total | Single | Married | Wid. | Div. |
| Male | 2,506 | 952 | 1,453 | 91 | 10 | 100 | 38 | 58 | 4 | — |
| Female | 3,401 | 1,294 | 1,462 | 601 | 45 | 100 | 41 | 43 | 16 | — |
| Both | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sexes | 5,907 | 2,246 | 2,915 | 692 | 55 | | 39 | 50 | 12 | — |

It appears that of the total number of persons usually recognized as of "marriageable age," there are 2,915, or approximately 50 per cent, who are married, while there are 2,992 who are either single, widowed or divorced. Here again appears a significant distinction between the men and women. While 58

per cent of the males above fifteen were found to be married, only 43 per cent of the women are so classified. In other words, 57 per cent of the females above fifteen are either single, widowed or divorced. The number of legally divorced persons among Negroes is insignificant. On the other hand, the permanent separations are large in number, and very frequently persons claim to be widowed or divorced when there has been no separation by death or court decree. Census statistics take cognizance of this situation by advising that females who have never been married, especially mothers with young children dependent upon them, may return themselves as either married, widowed or divorced; married females deserted by their husbands may return themselves as widowed, and divorced females may return themselves as widowed. Taking all of these probable discrepancies into account, however, the bare fact remains that practically 3,000 of the Negroes of Lynchburg, the majority of whom are women and girls, are living singly so far as domestic ties are concerned. This condition creates a natural social problem of no small consequence in a community of the size and characteristics of the city of Lynchburg.

d. Nativity of Negro Population.

It has been noted that Lynchburg contains a Negro population of no inconsiderable extent, a large portion of whom are

TABLE V: DISTRIBUTION OF COLORED ADULT POPULATION OF LYNCHBURG ACCORDING TO NATIVITY.

| Birth Place | Number | | | Percentage | | |
|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|------------|-----|-----|
| | M | F | T | M | F | T |
| Lynchburg | 698 | 763 | 1,461 | 33 | 26 | 29 |
| Anherst Co. | 204 | 487 | 781 | 14 | 16 | 16 |
| Appomattox Co. | 98 | 146 | 244 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Bedford Co. | 54 | 55 | 109 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Campbell Co. | 179 | 204 | 473 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Pattsylvania Co. | 82 | 89 | 171 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Other Co's in Va. | 497 | 764 | 1,261 | 25 | 26 | 25 |
| Other States | 199 | 296 | 495 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| | 2,101 | 2,894 | 4,995 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

women and girls, of whom a majority are unmarried. The question which naturally presents itself in a further study of the colored population relates to the nativity of this group of individuals. It has often been taken for granted that the Negro population of any city maintains a more or less unsettled status. In Table V an analysis is given of the adult Negroes of Lynchburg with reference to their birthplace.

From this table it may be observed that 1,461 persons, or 29 per cent of the adult colored population, were born in the city of Lynchburg, while 473 others, or an additional 9 per cent, were born in Campbell County, in which the city is situated. Again, it is to be noted that a total of 3,179, or 65 per cent, were born either in Campbell or one of the surrounding counties; and, further, that 4,500 Negroes of the city were born somewhere in the State of Virginia. It thus appears that only 495 adults, or less than 10 per cent, were born outside of the State. The principal States represented by these 495 individuals are, in the order of greatest frequency as states of nativity: North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Dubois, in his Study of the Philadelphia Negro, makes the comment that "the chief source of error in the returns as to birthplace are the answers of those who do not desire to report their birthplace as in the South. Naturally there is considerable social distinction between recently arrived Southerners and old Philadelphians" The writer also believes that the percentage of Lynchburg Negroes claiming this city as their birthplace is abnormally high for the same reason. Considerable social distinction attaches to the city as a preference to the country as one's birthplace.

One of the most interesting situations revealed through the survey has reference to the present location in the city of those individuals born in the surrounding rural districts. It was found, for instance, that the great majority of the 109 persons born in Bedford County have settled in that part of Lynchburg contiguous to that county; and this rule holds good for practically the entire city. This has likely resulted from the fact that when friends of the "pioneer" Negro afterwards followed his exam-

ple and moved to the city they actually sought a location in the same neighborhood. Hence, it is not altogether unsafe to conclude that to no small extent the family and social relationships established in the country have been continued amidst the complexities of city life.

Attention should be directed, before leaving this part of the study, to the differences again existing between the men and the women. Lynchburg contains only 1,405 men born in the counties adjacent to Lynchburg, while from the same section there are 1,774 women. Not more than 1,902 Negro men were born in the State, while 2,598 of the women were born there.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NEGROES OF LYNCHBURG.

Since the chief purpose of this study is to reflect the social and economic status of the Lynchburg Negroes as revealed through the survey, an endeavor has been made to investigate the conditions existing among them as concerns their fraternal, religious, political, and educational life. It was thought that the organizations and institutions dealing definitely with these four phases of Negro life would prove determining factors in establishing his social status as a member of the community in which he lives. Facts gleaned through a study of housing conditions will be considered in order.

a. The Fraternal Life of the Negro.

There is perhaps no phase of Negro life quite so characteristic of the race nor one which has grown so rapidly as that which finds concrete expression in the secret societies and fraternal orders. So swiftly have these organizations developed in all Negro communities that it must now be given importance alongside the school and the church. By the Negro himself it has come to be looked upon as a sort of social "measuring rod." The Negro must stand or fall in his social, business, and political relationship according to his position or prestige in the lodge.

The function of the secret society is partly to provide social intercourse and partly to afford financial protection and benefit through insurance. They furnish pastime from the monotony of work, a large field for the practice of "lodge politics," a chance for parade of badge and uniform, and insurance against misfortune.

It is obviously difficult to secure accurate statistics regarding the full extent and scope of the work of secret orders, and any estimate as to their economic activity is likely to be inaccurate. It may be stated, however, that in Lynchburg there are more than twenty-five different Negro fraternal orders. Table VI

shows the distribution of the 2,858 men and women who reported themselves as members of at least one of the fraternal societies.

TABLE VI: DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES ACCORDING TO MEMBERSHIP IN SECRET ORDERS.

| Name of Order | Number | | Total |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Men | Women | |
| Masons | 286 | 0 | 286 |
| Odd Fellows | 246 | 0 | 246 |
| Knights of Pythias | 519 | 0 | 519 |
| Elks | 301 | 0 | 301 |
| Good Samaritans | 275 | 601 | 876 |
| St. Luke's Order..... | 211 | 569 | 780 |
| Court of Calanthe..... | 0 | 286 | 286 |
| Daughter Elks | 0 | 119 | 119 |
| Others | 121 | 278 | 399 |
| | <hr/> 1,889 | <hr/> 1,853 | <hr/> 3,742 |

Of this number there are 279 men and 405 women, a total of 684 persons, who belong to more than one secret society. Deducting these numbers from the totals in Table VII we find that there are 1,610 men and 1,448 women, or a total of 3,068 individuals among the colored population who are members of at least one secret fraternal order. In other words, more than 75 per cent of the men, nearly 50 per cent of the women, or about 60 per cent of the Negro adults of the city are connected with one of the fraternal organizations.

A more careful study of the foregoing table will show that, among the men, the Knights of Pythias predominate. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Negro branch of this order has many parades and public ceremonies, in which the people at large may view their demonstrations. The innate love of display in the Negro very likely attracts more than the usual number to this order. It may be noted that among those societies which admit both men and women the latter appear in far greater numbers than do the former. More than 70 per cent of the membership of the two organizations open to both sexes is made up of women.

Table VII contains an analysis of the various membership lists of the leading fraternal organizations of the colored race, but this is by no means a total enumeration of such societies. There are a great many other organizations, some of which are semi-secret and ostensibly fraternal, but chiefly beneficial. In fact, it is not to be doubted that in Lynchburg as in all other communities there are organizations which exist solely for the purpose of exploiting as many as possible of the Negroes. It is very interesting to note the titles of some of these organizations. It is not intimated, however, that any of these are not thoroughly honest in their dealings with their members. In addition to those listed in Table VII, the chief ones are the Household of Ruth, True Reformers, Princes of Menelik and Princesses of Abyssinia, Shepherds of Bethlehem, Royal Order of Joseph, Independent Order of the Lily, and others.

b. Religious Life of the Negro.

The Church.

Not any less important in the Negro's social life than the lodge and, in fact, more or less closely connected with it in the personnel of leadership and in many other ways, comes the Church. The Church has been aptly described as the "central point around which all Negro life revolves." Its function has been defined as the instrument designed to give expression and satisfaction to social and religious emotions rather than to direct moral conduct.

The Churches most commonly found among the Negroes in the South are the Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, Colored Methodist Episcopal, though there are usually found a few Presbyterian, Episcopal, and sometimes even Catholic congregations. Politics seems to play a large part in the Negro Church. If one group becomes dissatisfied with the administration of the Church affairs, it usually withdraws and forms a new congregation. In many Southern cities there may be found a dozen or more different Churches of a single denomination with an aggregate membership of not more than would normally be found in two or three white Churches.

Of the fifty-one Churches situated in the city of Lynchburg fifteen of them are for colored congregations. Ten of these are Baptist, three are Methodist, one is Presbyterian, and one is Episcopal. The locations of these Churches have been made with little regard to the distribution of the colored population. Here again the law of separation holds good, the Court Street Baptist Church being considered the "mother" of all of the others. Table VII is submitted for the purpose of showing the membership and property valuation of the various colored Churches of the city.

TABLE VII: SHOWING MEMBERSHIP AND PROPERTY VALUATION OF NEGRO CHURCHES OF LYNCHBURG.

| Name | Denomination | Membership | Valuation |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Court Street..... | Baptist | 1,200 | \$18,000 |
| Dearington..... | Baptist | 250 | 2,500 |
| Diamond Hill..... | Baptist | 200 | 2,000 |
| Eighth Street..... | Baptist | 125 | 6,000 |
| Fifth Street..... | Baptist | 75 | 1,000 |
| Mount Carmel..... | Baptist | 100 | 1,500 |
| Mount Moriah..... | Baptist | 140 | 1,000 |
| Peaceful..... | Baptist | 110 | 500 |
| Rivermont..... | Baptist | 100 | 1,200 |
| White Rock Chapel..... | Baptist | 75 | 750 |
| Chapel of Good Shepherd... | Episcopal | 20 | 600 |
| Jackson Street..... | Methodist | 200 | 6,000 |
| Marshall Chapel..... | Methodist | 50 | 500 |
| St. Paul's Mission..... | African Meth. Episc..... | 40 | 500 |
| Central | Presbyterian | 70 | 1,400 |
| Totals..... | | 2,755 | \$43,250 |

Table VIII shows the distribution of the adult colored population of the city with reference to their Church membership.

From this table it may be seen that of the entire adult colored population of 4,995 persons, 68 per cent of them are Church members. It is also to be noted that there is a higher percentage of Church members among the women than among the men, only 58 per cent of the men belonging to a Church as compared with 75 per cent of the women. As is usually the custom

in communities throughout the South, the number of Baptists among the colored race far exceeds the number belonging to any other denomination. In fact, 60 per cent of the adult population belong to the Baptist Church, leaving only 8 per cent who belong to the other denominations.

TABLE VIII: DISTRIBUTION OF COLORED ADULT POPULATION ACCORDING TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

| Denomination | Number | | | Percentage | | |
|--------------------|--------|-------|-------|------------|-------|-------|
| | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women | Total |
| Baptist | 1,078 | 1,889 | 2,967 | 51. | 67. | 60. |
| Methodist | 108 | 198 | 306 | 5. | 6. | 6. |
| Presbyterian | 10 | 25 | 35 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| Episcopalian | 12 | 26 | 38 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| Others | 28 | 21 | 49 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| None | 865 | 735 | 1,600 | 42.0 | 25.0 | 32.0 |
| Totals..... | 2,101 | 2,894 | 4,995 | 100. | 100. | 100. |

One of the most significant features of the religious status of the Negroes of Lynchburg was found in the composition of the large group recorded as non-church members. There were 1,600 individuals so reported, 865 of them being men and 735 women. Of the 865 men who belong to no Church, 578, or nearly 70 per cent, are heads of families; while of the 735 women who are not attached to any Church, 545, or nearly 80 per cent, are parents. In other words, 1,123 men and women, who are parents are not connected with any Church. A further analysis of these 1,123 men and women shows the fact that 714 of them, or over 60 per cent of the number, are between the ages of 21 and 40 years. In brief, there is in the city an alarmingly large number of parents within the most active and useful periods of life who are not identified with any of the religious activities of their race. It is believed by the writer that this constitutes a problem of no inconsiderable proportions to challenge the serious consideration of the religious leaders of the race.

c. The Young Women's Christian Association Branch.

One of the most interesting and valuable organizations studied in connection with the moral and religious life of the Negro race in Lynchburg was found to be the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association. This institution is operated as a part of the general Y. W. C. A. of the city and is administered by an advisory committee from the general Y. W. C. A. cooperating with an executive committee chosen from the Negro women found in the membership of the branch Association. It is located on one of the streets of the city where a large number of colored families reside and is within a few blocks of the center of the Negro population. The activities are directed by a trained secretary who is working very efficiently toward the development of the moral and social natures of the young colored men and women of the community. The institution is proving particularly valuable as a social center for the young girls who are living away from home.

d. The Educational Life of the Negro in Lynchburg.

The question of the mental and moral training of the Negro has constituted the greatest problem to be solved in all efforts to improve the Negro race. Southern leaders have sought diligently to know the duty of the South in the matter of educating the Negro, and have likewise sought the means by which desired results might be obtained. Northern philanthropists, too, have endeavored to assist in educating the Negroes and have given liberally to this cause.

The Negroes of Lynchburg have been peculiarly fortunate in this regard, since for the past fifty years leaders of the white race, North and South, have cooperated effectively towards the solution of this all important problem. Beginning with the schools supported by the Freedman's Bureau, which were instituted immediately after the close of the Civil War, the educational system established for the colored youth has developed steadily with that designed for the white youth. For a number of years only white teachers were employed as teachers for the colored schools. Now, however, white teachers have practically

disappeared except in the case of the colored high school. It needs to be said further that in administration and supervision the colored schools of the city are given their share of attention and oversight. The administrative and supervisory staff for the colored schools is the same as that for the white schools of the city. There are 165 teachers engaged in the Lynchburg public schools and of this number 132 are white. Five of these teach in the colored high school and three others are supervising principals for colored elementary schools. There are, therefore, forty-one teachers who are engaged in the secondary and elementary schools for the colored children of the city.

As regards their professional training the thirty-three colored teachers are fairly well qualified for their work. One of them holds the highest form of teachers' certificate, the collegiate professional, five hold the elementary professional, three the special certificate. Seventeen hold first grade and four hold second grade certificates, while three are teaching on local permits. Six of the teachers are college graduates, seven have graduated from normal schools, eight from high schools, and twelve have had less than a complete high school education. Among the colleges and normal schools represented by the college and normal graduates of the teaching staff of the colored schools are the Virginia Normal Institute, Hampton Institute, Harts-horn Seminary and Virginia Seminary and College.

Table IX shows the distribution according to years of teaching experience and length of tenure in present position of the colored teachers of Lynchburg.

TABLE IX: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE AND LENGTH OF TENURE OF THE COLORED TEACHERS OF LYNCHBURG.

| | Years | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----|------|-------|----------|
| | 0 | 1-5 | 6-10 | 11-20 | Above 20 |
| Experience | 2 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 4 |
| Tenure | 5 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 3 |

An examination of the foregoing table will show that from the standpoint of previous experience the colored teachers in

Lynchburg are well equipped for their work. Only two teachers have had no experience. Thirty-one of them have had as much as one year and fourteen of them, or nearly 50 per cent, have had more than ten years experience. When we consider the number of years which the various teachers have held their present positions, we find that the Lynchburg colored schools make a comparatively strong showing. All but five of the teachers have been in the system for more than a year, eighteen of them for more than five years, and one-third of the number have been connected with the system for over ten years. According to the verdict of experienced and thoroughly trained educators a long period of previous experience and of length of tenure in the same system speak favorably for the teaching efficiency of a public school teacher.

The following table is based upon the report which was made for the public schools of the State in 1919 by the Virginia Education Commission. It shows a comparison between Lynchburg and other cities of the State as regards certain instructional expenditures for the colored children of the city.

**TABLE X: SHOWING CERTAIN FACTS CONCERNING
COLORED SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA CITIES.**

| Cities | Length of term in days | Number of pupils per teacher | Average annual salaries of teachers |
|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Lynchburg | 182 | 53 | \$579 |
| Average Cities | 180 | 48 | 461 |
| Average State | 134 | 45 | — |

From this table it appears that Lynchburg compares favorably with the other cities of the State and with the State as a whole in the three important items listed in the table as regards the educational opportunities offered its colored youth. The school term is two days longer than that of the average Virginia city and forty-eight days longer than that of the State at large. There are only three cities, Alexandria, Norfolk and Winchester, which operate schools for the colored children a greater number of days than does Lynchburg. Lynchburg has slightly more pupils per teacher than does the average city, but this is due to

the lack of teaching space. This condition will be materially improved through the erection of a new colored high school building now in process of construction. In point of annual salaries paid its colored teachers the average for Lynchburg is higher by \$118 than that for the cities of the State as a whole.

c. Pupils.

According to the survey conducted by the writer, the results of which vary but slightly from those of the last Federal Census, there are 3,304 Negroes in Lynchburg below the age of twenty-one. Of this number 1,530 are boys and 1,774 are girls. About 70 per cent of these, including 1,062 boys and 1,305 girls are of "school age." Table XI shows the proportion of these 2,367 children that are being educated in the various schools of the city.

TABLE XI: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS OF SCHOOL AGE ACCORDING TO SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

| | No. in Public Schools | No. in Private Schools | No. not in Schools |
|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Boys | 714 | 13 | 335 |
| Girls | 852 | 24 | 429 |
| Totals..... | 1,566 | 37 | 764 |

From the table presented above, it will be seen that 335 boys and 429 girls, a total of 764 or 32 per cent of the colored school population were not even enrolled in any city school during the scholastic year 1920-1921. In Table XII a comparison is made with the cities of Virginia and with the State as regards the school attendance of Negro children.

TABLE XII: SHOWING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL POPULATION (COLORED).

| | Lynchburg | Virginia Cities | State |
|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-------|
| Both Sexes | 68 | 55 | 54 |
| Boys | 67 | 40 | 52 |
| Girls | 69 | 58 | 56 |

A study of this table reveals the fact that there is a higher percentage of Negro children, both boys and girls, attending school in Lynchburg than in the average Virginia city, and a considerably larger number than for the State at large. This is the logical result of Lynchburg's constructive policy in the encouragement and promotion of Negro education.

CHAPTER V.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE LYNCHBURG NEGROES.

In this chapter of the study there is presented information gathered through the writer's survey as to the economic conditions prevailing among the Negroes of the city of Lynchburg. Throughout the chapter the family is considered as the unit of calculation and comparison, instead of the individual as has been the case in the preceding chapters. The Negro's economic status was studied from a viewpoint of (1) his home and living conditions, (2) his health conditions, (3) his home and other property ownership and (4) his occupation and family income.

I. HOMES AND LIVING CONDITIONS.

In the house-to-house canvass of two thousand homes the writer also made a study of the general environment in which the Negroes of Lynchburg live. The survey deals, therefore, not only with the families themselves but with the various physical factors that help to determine their social and economic status in the community. The chief factors studied were (1) streets, (2) yards, (3) houses, (4) rooms, (5) heat, lighting and ventilation, (6) water and plumbing and (7) distribution of families according to dwellings.

a. Streets.

TABLE XIII: NUMBER FAMILIES LIVING ON VARIOUS TYPES AND CONDITIONS OF STREETS.

| | Number of Families | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------|-------|------|------|-------|
| | Paved | Surfaced | Dirt | Good | Fair | Bad |
| Living on Streets: | 440 | 292 | 1,204 | 597 | 399 | 1,016 |
| Living on Sidewalks: | Paved | Board | Dirt | Good | Fair | Bad |
| | 182 | 83 | 1,569 | 577 | 787 | 538 |

A glance at the foregoing table will show that a large percentage of the negro families of Lynchburg live on streets which have neither street nor sidewalk paved. A total of 1,204 fam-

ilies, or 60 per cent, live on streets, the material of which is dirt. A larger number than this, totalling 1,569 families, or 78 per cent of the Negro population, live on dirt sidewalks. The condition of these streets and sidewalks, however, was found to be moderately good. It will be noted in the table that both streets and sidewalks are classified as either "Good," "Fair" or "Bad." In explanation of this classification it may be stated that a street was rated as "Good" if it contained a hard surface, was fairly smooth and contained few or no holes. It was rated "Bad" if it was practically impassable at the time the survey was made (November, 1920, to April, 1921). All streets that could be called neither "Good" nor "Bad" were called "Fair." Practically the same method of rating was followed with regard to sidewalks as was done with streets. The survey showed that sixty-six families lived entirely away from a street of any kind. These houses were located chiefly in the outlying sections of the city and in most cases were isolated by streams or ravines. It was also found that 268 families lived on streets which contained no sidewalks of any description. In practically all instances families living without street accommodations were also without sidewalk accommodations. Fifty-eight families were found living in the back-yards of other families and forty-nine families in houses which face alleys.

b. Yards.

Yards were considered with reference to size and general condition. The yard is a necessary factor in the play life of the children, as well as a matter of esthetic importance. In Table XIV is shown the number of families living on lots of varying sizes.

Here it will be noted that the greater number of Negro fam-

TABLE XIV: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF YARDS.

| Families living where yards are covered... | Per Cent. of Yard Covered by Dwelling | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|----------|
| | Under 25% | 25% to 50% | 50% to 75% | Over 75% |
| | 418 | 698 | 614 | 572 |

ilies live on lots less than 50 per cent of the space of which is covered by houses. Though the city of Lynchburg is rather swiftly developing it has not yet reached the point where there is a necessity for congestion of buildings in residential sections. Only 886 of the two thousand colored families have less yard space than floor space in their homes, while only one-fourth of them have as little as half as much space for play and outdoor life as they have within the four walls of the home. Although the writer has had no similar statistics of other cities for comparison he believes that the negro families of Lynchburg have been unusually well provided for in the matter of generous yards.

When we turn, however, to the condition of the yards we find a situation not quite so wholesome. The yards were graded "Good," "Fair" or "Bad" in proportion to the amount of trash, refuse, etc., found upon them and as to the evident care and attention being given by the occupants of the premises. Table XV shows the condition of the Negro yards.

TABLE XV: CONDITION OF NEGRO YARDS.

| Number of families living where yards are | Good | Fair | Bad |
|---|------|------|-----|
| | 651 | 569 | 804 |

Although three-fourths of the Negro families live in houses whose yards could be made a valuable adjunct to a wholesome living environment by virtue of their size, only a little more than one-fourth of the families give any considerable amount of attention to their yards. It was found also that only 386 families of the two thousand kept gardens as a partial source of food supply.

c. Houses.

Following the yard the next item studied was the house itself. Under this section will be discussed the construction and condition of the houses in which the two thousand families live. As was to be expected the great majority of the houses were of wood. Only ninety families live in houses built of any other

material, and the homes of these are either brick or cement. The general outward appearance of the houses was noted and classified as "Good," "Fair" or "Bad." The survey showed that 1,729 families live in houses that are bad in appearance, while 181 live in fair houses, and 191 live in houses whose general appearance can be called good.

The interior of each house was studied chiefly with a view of determining to what extent the size and arrangement of the rooms accommodated the family which occupied it. Table XVI is presented to show a distribution of the colored families of the city on the bases (1) of the total number of rooms occupied by each family, and (2) of the number of bed-rooms used by each family.

TABLE XVI: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF COLORED FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED.

| | One Room | Two Rooms | Three | Four | Five and over |
|--|----------|-----------|-------|------|---------------|
| No. of families occupying | 74 | 214 | 868 | 468 | 378 |
| No of families occupying as bed-rooms | 416 | 1,450 | 134 | 0 | 0 |

This table shows that the median number of rooms per family for the colored population of Lynchburg is three, and that the median number of bed-rooms is two. It was found further in a study of the rooms of the houses that in 612 families there was an average of one bed to each room, in 386 families the average was 1 1/3 beds per room, in 504 families it was 1 1/2 beds per room, while in 500 families the average was 2 beds per room. From the foregoing data it will be seen that the Lynchburg Negro on the whole, gives too little attention to the sleeping arrangements in his home. It was discovered further that in 508 families the bed-rooms were used for living rooms also, that in twenty-one cases they were used for dining rooms as well as for sleeping purposes, that with 898 families they served the double function of bed-room and laundry, and that in only 395 families were they used for sleeping exclusively.

d. Heating, Lighting and Ventilation.

A study was also made to determine the extent to which the Negro householder provided for the comforts and conveniences of heating, lighting and ventilation for his family. It was quite frequently found that the kitchen furnished the sole source of heat supply for all of the occupants of the house during the winter months. This rule held good in the vast majority of cases even where there were boarders or lodgers. The extent to which the houses were heated will be seen by observing Table XVII. One thousand, two hundred and sixty-four families, or 63 per cent of those residing in Lynchburg, live in homes that are not more than 50 per cent heated.

**TABLE XVII: NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVING IN HOUSES
VARYING PERCENTAGES OF WHICH WERE HEATED.**

| | Under 25% | 25% to 50% | 50% to 75% | Above 75% |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Number of families..... | 416 | 848 | 611 | 127 |

During the survey an investigation was made in each home to determine whether the house was kept well lighted in the day-time. It was discovered that 1,213 families lived in houses that should have been called "dark" during the entire day, while only 689 families occupied houses that were well lighted. In the matter of artificial lighting the Negro families of the city seem to give preference to oil lamps as a method of illumination. It was found that 1,416 families use oil, 268 families use gas, and 318 families use electricity.

e. Water Supply and Plumbing.

The water supply of the Negro families of Lynchburg is obtained chiefly from the municipal reservoir, springs and wells. There are 1,410 families who secure their water from the city mains, 401 of them get water from wells in the vicinity of their homes and 191 use nearby springs. Of the number who use city water by far the greater proportion obtain it from hydrants, and in the case of 73 per cent of the families these hydrants are located outside of the house. This latter feature constitutes one

of the most difficult problems in connection with the water supply for the colored population of the city. It is true not only of hydrants but of wells and springs that their location outside of homes renders them accessible to large numbers of persons, and thereby increases the probability of their becoming sources of contamination. Table XVIII shows the number of families using hydrants, wells, and springs.

TABLE XVIII: NUMBER OF HYDRANTS, WELLS, AND SPRINGS USED BY INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES OR SHARED WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

| | Hydrants | Wells | Springs |
|-------------------------------------|----------|-------|---------|
| Used by one family..... | 518 | 196 | 2 |
| Used by two families..... | 463 | 168 | 79 |
| Used by three or more families..... | 67 | 79 | 110 |

This table shows, for instance, that only 518 families have exclusive use of hydrants for water supply, 196 families have individual use of wells, and in only two cases are there less than two families using a spring. It will be seen further that only 716 families out of the entire two thousand studied use water from any source without sharing it with at least one other family. The writer believes this to constitute a grave menace to the public health of the Negro population. It is well known that contagious diseases are often-times spread through the medium of the common dipper and common drinking cup, and both of these abound at the "community" wells and springs used by the Lynchburg Negroes.

All of the wells and springs were examined as to condition and it was found that 182 families were served by wells that could be classed as "good" according to the general condition of curbing, bucket, etc., while 219 families were using water from wells whose condition would merit the classification of "bad." In the case of springs the situation proved even worse. Only two families were found to be using water from a spring that showed evidences of care and attention, while 189 families were using water from springs which seemed to the investigator to be altogether dangerous to health. In three instances springs

were found to be situated so that the water and drainage from at least a dozen houses ran directly into the spring. In each of these cases human excrement, refuse, etc., were seen in yards immediately above the spring. It is believed that the city health authorities would do well to have analyses and close inspections made of all wells, to prohibit the use of public dippers and drinking cups, and to have measures enacted by which all the springs located within the city should be closed by law.

The matter of plumbing and toilet facilities for the houses occupied by colored families appears to have received more careful attention than has that of water supply. For instance, the writer found only 163 earth closets used by Negro families and only twenty of these were in foul condition. The city sanitary authorities are rapidly supplanting these earth closets with sewered closets and it is thought that within a year there will be fewer than 5 per cent of the Negro families using earth closets. One of the most difficult problems observed was the joint use of toilets. In the case of earth closets and water closets also it was found that the great majority of families were sharing these facilities with at least one other family. There were only 707 Negro families who had the exclusive use of a toilet. In the case of eighty-eight families it was found that the toilet had sewer connection, but only through an arrangement by which the closet was placed directly over a public sewer. It is believed that this arrangement is hazardous to health. In nearly 50 per cent of the cases the members of families are required to use toilets located outside the house in which they are living.

f. Distribution of Negro Families.

The problem of congestion has always been a serious one in Negro life. In Negro communities it is no unusual spectacle to see a family of eight or ten with perhaps half as many boarders or lodgers occupying one house. The following table is presented to show the distribution of the colored population of the city of Lynchburg with respect to the number of families that were living with other families, and also of the number of occupants per house.

From this table it can be seen that 54 per cent of the Negro

TABLE XIX: DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO FAMILIES.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of families that live alone..... | 1,082 |
| Number of families that live with one other family..... | 749 |
| Number of families that live with two or more families..... | 171 |
| <hr/> | |
| Number of families where there is one dweller..... | 218 |
| Number of families where there are two dwellers..... | 468 |
| Number of families where there are three dwellers..... | 306 |
| Number of families where there are four dwellers..... | 487 |
| Number of families where there are five or more..... | 523 |

families of the city occupy a house to themselves, that 37 per cent of them must share the house with at least another family, while 8 per cent of the total number live in houses where there are two or more other families residing.

In the case of the number of dwellers living in each house the table shows that in 34 per cent of the families there are not more than two dwellers per house, that in 78 per cent of the families there are more than two, but not more than four dwellers, while in 26 per cent of the cases there are more than five dwellers in each house. Here it will be noticed that the median number of dwellers per house is three, but the mode is five dwellers per house.

II. HEALTH.

a. Mortality.

The facts presented in this study relative to the health conditions of Negroes of Lynchburg were gathered entirely from data contained in the annual report of the Bureau of Health in the Department of Public Welfare. These data were accepted as the best single source of information in view of the fact that all records and reports kept by this Bureau seem thoroughly accurate. In Table XX there is to be found a summary of deaths, white and colored, for the calendar year of 1920.

It should be explained that the above figures include deaths among non-residents, an inclusion which could not be avoided due to the fact that the analysis of death by various diseases is

TABLE XX: SUMMARY OF DEATHS FOR WHITE AND COLORED RACES IN LYNCHBURG FOR YEAR 1920.

| | Number of Deaths | | Total |
|--|------------------|---------|-------|
| | White | Colored | |
| Male | 135 | 90 | 225 |
| Female | 173 | 95 | 268 |
| Total..... | 308 | 185 | 493 |
| Annual death rate per 1,000 population.... | 14.2 | 22.1 | 16.4 |

based on the total number of deaths occurring in the city. There is a difference of 1.8 persons per 1,000 among the whites and of 1.5 among the Negroes as between the figures for residents only and for the total population, including the non-residents. The Bureau remarks that "this is the lowest number of deaths recorded since the foundation of the Bureau of Health in 1910."

The ten leading causes of the 493 deaths in Lynchburg as analyzed by the Bureau of Health are presented in Table XXI.

TABLE XXI: TEN LEADING CAUSES OF DEATHS (1920).

| Cause | White | Colored | Total |
|---------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Organic Disease of the Heart..... | 45 | 34 | 75 |
| Pneumonia and Broncho-Pneumonia | 24 | 17 | 41 |
| Tuberculosis of the Lungs..... | 16 | 17 | 33 |
| Bright's Disease | 15 | 16 | 31 |
| Influenza | 22 | 8 | 30 |
| Congenital Debility | 20 | 4 | 24 |
| Cancer | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| Diseases of the Arteries..... | 12 | 4 | 16 |
| Cerebral Hemorrhage | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| Diarrhoea and Enteritis..... | 5 | 10 | 15 |

It is interesting to note from a study of the above table that although the ratio of the white population to the colored population is slightly more than three to one, there are three of the ten leading causes of deaths in which the actual number of deaths for the colored is greater than that for the whites. In the case of tuberculosis of the lungs, Bright's disease, and Diarrhoea and

enteritis there were a greater number of Negroes to die than white persons. While the writer does not assume to diagnose yet he believes there is not a far distant relation between the high number of deaths from tuberculosis among the Negroes and the large number of families among the colored population who live with little or practically no ventilation in their homes.

b. Births and Infant Mortality.

It has been very generally assumed that in the South the Negroes have larger families than the whites. In order to test this assumption we must consider the infant mortality in relation to the Negro birth rate. In Table XXII is presented the birth rate for whites and Negroes in the city of Lynchburg for the ten years, 1911-1920, inclusive.

**TABLE XXII: BIRTH RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION
(1911-1920).**

| Year | White | Colored | Total |
|------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| 1920 | 32.0 | 26.3 | 30.4 |
| 1919 | 26.7 | 24.1 | 25.9 |
| 1918 | 24.3 | 22.8 | 23.9 |
| 1917 | 25.9 | 22.9 | 25.0 |
| 1916 | 23.5 | 28.5 | 24.9 |
| 1915 | 25.9 | 34.6 | 28.5 |
| 1914 | 25.3 | 33.8 | 27.9 |
| 1913 | 26.1 | 27.5 | 26.5 |
| 1912 | 26.9 | Not Available | 26.6 |
| 1911 | 22.8 | Not Available | 23.9 |

A calculation of the average birth-rate per year for each of the two races shows that the average for the whites for the ten-year period is 25.9 per 1,000 population, while the average for the Negroes for the eight-year period, the number of years for which figures are available, is 27.5 births per 1,000 population. Calculating the average for the whites during the last eight years, we find it to be 26.2 births per thousand. Thus, there is on the average an excess of only 1.4 births per 1,000 among the Negroes. The distribution of the number of deaths among infants

as between whites and blacks in Lynchburg cannot be shown on account of the lack of definite data. However, the rate of infant mortality for the two races combined is shown in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII: RATE OF INFANT MORTALITY FOR BOTH RACES.

| Year | Deaths of Children under One Year of Age per 1,000 Reported Births |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1920 | 71.1 |
| 1919 | 86.0 |
| 1918 | 109.0 |
| 1917 | 110.9 |
| 1916 | 112.8 |
| 1911-1915 (average for 5 years)..... | 143.7 |

Here we note a very unusual decrease in the rate of infant mortality during this ten-year period. Quoting from the report of the Head of the Bureau of Health for the city: "The year 1920 saw the largest number of births and the smallest number of deaths of persons under one year ever reported in Lynchburg, giving an infant mortality of seventy-one against the next lowest infant mortality of eighty-six in 1919. The white infant death rate was fifty-six, an exceedingly low rate; the colored was 118, or over twice as high as the white. This fact indicates that for the city to enjoy any further great reduction in infant deaths, the colored rate must be cut. Another fact of importance disclosed is, that of the sixty-five total infant deaths, thirty-four, or over half, occurred during the first month of life." He further notes that "of the sixty-five deaths among infants, twenty-eight white children and six colored children died under one month." He concludes, "this would go to show the remarkable condition that the colored mother has better attention preceding, during and following the birth of her child than the white mother. After the first month, the death rate of colored children much exceeds that of white children, but during the first months the white exceeds the colored."

This part of the report concludes with the opinion that "to

reduce the death rate of infants" a higher sanitary condition must be secured for the colored child.

In another part of the report attention is called to the fact that much of the typhus fever in the city in the past few years has been due to the presence of open wells and earth closets. The writer is strongly of this opinion. Quoting again from the Health Report: "The typhoid death rate for 1920 was the smallest in the history of the city and indicates with clearness the steady advancement in local sanitary conditions." The typhoid death rate in Lynchburg has decreased from 111.4 persons per 100,000 population in 1904 to the extremely low rate of 3.3 persons per 100,000 population in 1920. This steady improvement has kept almost constant pace with the elimination of earth closets and open wells in the city. The Health Report continues, "only one woman died from typhoid during the year of 1920, and the city was in every way responsible for her infection, for she drank out of a polluted well situated on the lot, and used the old time privy." It is strongly urged, in conclusion, that the earth closets should be removed as rapidly as possible and every well and spring in the city closed.

III. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP.

One of the most important phases of the economic status of any group of people is their ownership of land and other property, including their homes. This is true of the Negro. Fortunately, for the purposes of this study, the writer was able to secure direct data on Negro property holding from a report of the City Commissioner of Revenue. The results appear in Table XXIV.

**TABLE XXIV: PROPERTY OWNERSHIP OF WHITES
AND NEGROES IN 1920.**

| | White | Colored | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Real Estate | \$19,789,420 | \$1,180,105 | \$20,969,525 |
| Tangible Personalty | 2,037,137 | 184,410 | 2,221,547 |
| Total..... | \$21,826,557 | \$1,364,515 | \$23,191,072 |
| Intangible Personalty | 18,040,606 | 9,070 | 18,049,676 |
| Total..... | \$39,867,163 | \$1,373,585 | \$41,240,748 |

From this table it will be seen that of the entire taxable property of the city, exclusive of bank stock, the Negroes are assessed for about 3 per cent. It will also be noted that a higher percentage of the total is found in the real estate column than for any other form of property. Practically 5.6 per cent of the real estate assessed in Lynchburg is owned by Negroes. The report of the Commissioner also shows that for the same year there were assessed for capitation taxes 5,504 white persons and 1,711 colored persons.

Home Ownership.

One of the most hopeful signs of the gradual betterment in the economic status of the Negro is his increasing desire to own the home in which he lives. In 1900 only 20 per cent of the Negro homes, urban and rural, in the United States were owned by the occupant; in 1910 the figure had increased to nearly 24 per cent. Although the returns for the 1920 Federal Census are not available, it is believed that there is a further improvement for the United States as a whole. Table XXV shows the extent to which the Negroes of Lynchburg are the owners of the houses which they occupy. We find that nominally 22 per cent of the Negro families own their homes. Three hundred and eight families, or 15 per cent of the entire number of families, own them encumbered. Seventy-five per cent of the homes are rented, while in the case of twenty-six families it was impossible to secure dependable data on account of the efforts of the occupant to give indefinite replies to the questionnaire on this point. Very little evidences were noted of the activities of

TABLE XXV: HOME OWNERSHIP AMONG THE NEGRO FAMILIES OF LYNCHBURG.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of families owning homes free..... | 308 |
| Number of families owning homes encumbered..... | 132 |
| Number of families renting homes..... | 1,536 |
| Form of ownership unknown..... | 26 |
| Total..... | 2,002 |

any building and loan associations or any cooperative home ownership associations. The general tendency seems to be to buy the home "on terms" meeting the obligation through the medium of deferred payments.

In the survey an effort was also made to get information from the head of the family owning the home as to its value. While the replies received must be discounted, as some were unreasonably high and others unreasonably low, in the main, the writer believes that he has arrived at a fair estimate. Table XXVI shows the distribution of the 440 families according to the estimated value of their homes.

TABLE XXVI: DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO FAMILIES ON THE BASIS OF HOME VALUATION.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Number of families owning homes of a value less than \$500..... | 161 |
| Number of families owning homes of a value of \$500 to \$1,000..... | 235 |
| Number of families owning homes of a greater value than \$1,000..... | 44 |
| Total..... | 440 |

The 1,536 families who lived in rented houses have been classified according to the amount of rent paid per room. This unit of calculation was thought to be the most satisfactory. In fact it appeared to be the only feasible basis on which a comparison could be made. Table XXVII gives this classification.

TABLE XXVII: NEGRO FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR MONTHLY ROOM RENTAL.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of families paying under 50c. per room..... | 214 |
| Number of families paying from 50c. to 75c. per room..... | 878 |
| Number of families paying 75c. to \$1.00 per room..... | 289 |
| Number of families paying above \$1.00 per room..... | 155 |
| Total..... | 1,536 |

We may observe that more than half the families of the colored population of the city pay for rent fifty to seventy-five cents per room monthly. It is also to be noticed that 155 fam-

ilies pay on the average more than \$1.00 per room per month. The writer observed that in most instances these families were those who seemed to be of fairly moderate means and who were evidently paying this larger rent in order to live among the more independent class of Negroes who own their homes. Very little evidences were found of extortions in rents from the poorer Negro families.

A calculation has been made from the facts gathered through the survey as to the relation between the amount of money paid out in rents and the total family income. The distribution of the 1,536 rent-paying families is given in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII: PROPORTION OF INCOME OF NEGRO FAMILIES SPENT FOR RENT.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Number of families paying under 10% of income in rent..... | 193 |
| Number of families paying 10% to 15% of income in rent..... | 480 |
| Number of families paying 15% to 20% of income in rent..... | 242 |
| Number of families paying 20% to 25% of income in rent..... | 187 |
| Number of families paying 25% to 30% of income in rent..... | 250 |
| Number of families paying above 30% of income in rent..... | 184 |
| Total..... | 1,536 |

From a consideration of Table XXVIII together with Appendix II it may be noted that the median family among the rent-paying group of Lynchburg Negro householders pays an average of $16 \frac{2}{3}$ per cent of its income each month for rents. This appears to be not far from the general tendency among all classes of rent-paying families throughout the country. Attention may be called to the fact that there are thirty-four families who pay 40 per cent of their income as rent and eight families who pay 50 per cent of their entire income as rent, while, on the other hand, there are 143 families who pay as low as 8 per cent and sixty-four families who pay only 6 per cent.

IV. TENURE OF RESIDENCE.

In connection with the study of home ownership among the Negroes in Lynchburg and its relation to his economic status

attention was also given to the length of tenure of his residence. Among the questions asked during the survey were, How long have you lived in this house and How long have you lived in the city? The facts elicited are shown in Table XXIX.

TABLE XXIX: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO THOUSAND NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE.

| Number | Years | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|-----|------|----------|
| | Under 1 | 1-5 | 6-15 | Above 15 |
| In the present house..... | 515 | 638 | 219 | 630 |
| In the city | 186 | 207 | 223 | 1,386 |

These figures bear testimony to the stability of the Negro families of the city. It is known that the rent-paying Negro family is almost constantly moving from place to place. The table shows that nearly 26 per cent of the families have lived less than one year in the present house. However, it may also be seen that 849 families, or over 42 per cent, have lived more than five years in the present house, and that 1,609 families, or about 80 per cent, have lived in the city for more than five years.

V. OCCUPATION AND INCOME.

No facts have a more direct bearing upon the economic status of an individual or group of individuals than those relating to occupation and income. In the survey made by the writer an attempt was made to secure intelligible data regarding the occupations of all adult Negroes in Lynchburg. Tables XXX and XXXI are presented to show the results.

In Table XXX the classification of the colored adult population according to occupations is made to correspond with the standard used by the Bureau of the Federal Census. From this table it is to be noticed that by far the largest number of Negroes in Lynchburg are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries and in domestic and personal service. This is due to the large number of laborers and helpers in the manufacturing plants and the large number of laundresses, cooks, maids,

**TABLE XXX: DISTRIBUTION OF COLORED POPULATION
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS (STAND. CLASS.).**

(Adult)

| Occupation (Class) | Number | | |
|--|--------|-------|-------|
| | M | F | T |
| Totals | 2,101 | 2,894 | 4,995 |
| Occupation unknown | 85 | 322 | 407 |
| All occupations | 2,016 | 2,472 | 4,488 |
| I. Agriculture and Dairy Farming..... | 15 | 0 | 15 |
| II. Mining | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| III. Manufacturing and Mechanical Industry.... | 1,122 | 687 | 1,809 |
| IV. Transportation | 352 | 0 | 352 |
| V. Trade | 193 | 97 | 290 |
| VI. Public Service | 75 | 0 | 75 |
| VII. Professional Service | 48 | 80 | 128 |
| VIII. Domestic and Personal Service..... | 206 | 1,606 | 1,812 |
| IX. Clerical Services | 3 | 2 | 5 |

**TABLE XXXI: DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS
ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF SKILL.**

| Sex | Degree of Skill | | | Total |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|-------|
| | Skilled | Semi-skilled | Unskilled | |
| Male | 192 (09) | 587 (29) | 1,237 (62) | 2,016 |
| Female | 140 (05) | 335 (13) | 2,097 (82) | 2,572 |
| Totals..... | 332 (07) | 922 (20) | 3,334 (73) | 4,588 |

(Note: The figures given in parentheses indicate percentages.)

etc., in the service of householders in the city. The rather large number of colored women classed as being in "professional service" is due to the fact that there are a goodly number of colored teachers among the Negro women.

One of the chief purposes of the survey was to ascertain the relative amount of income in each family studied. Obviously, exact and accurate information on this point was practically impossible to secure. Evasive answers were given in many instances through fear or suspicion. On the whole, however, the writer believes the data to be fairly trustworthy; hence, the fol-

lowing table is presented, showing in tabular form the weekly income per capita.

TABLE XXXII: WEEKLY INCOME PER CAPITA.

| | \$1 to \$3 | \$3 to \$5 | \$5 to \$7 | \$7 to \$9 | \$9 to \$11 | Above \$11 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| Number of families | 555 | 412 | 563 | 164 | 122 | 13 |

This table indicates that the average family has an income per capita of approximately \$5.00 per week. The median family falls within the first fifty of the 563 families who average \$5.00 to \$7.00 per capita per week.

**APPENDIX I: SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE
POPULATION OF LYNCHBURG BY DECENNIAL
PERIODS FROM 1820 TO 1920.**

| Year | Total Pop. | Colored | | | Total | Per Cent. | |
|------|------------|---------|------|-------|-------|-----------|------|
| | | White | Free | Slave | | Negro | Free |
| 1820 | 3,087 | 1,775 | 256 | 1,056 | 1,312 | 42.1 | 19.5 |
| 1830 | 4,628 | 2,492 | 405 | 1,751 | 2,136 | 46.2 | 19.0 |
| 1840 | 6,405 | 3,381 | 469 | 2,555 | 3,212 | 50.0 | 14.6 |
| 1850 | 8,071 | 4,178 | 491 | 3,402 | 3,969 | 49.1 | 12.4 |
| 1860 | 6,941 | 3,825 | 528 | 2,588 | 3,061 | 44.2 | 17.2 |
| 1870 | 6,635 | 3,426 | | | 3,353 | 50.3 | |
| 1880 | 15,953 | 7,482 | | | 8,471 | 53.1 | |
| 1890 | 19,714 | 9,912 | | | 9,802 | 49.7 | |
| 1900 | 18,887 | 10,633 | | | 8,254 | 43.7 | |
| 1910 | 29,494 | 20,028 | | | 9,466 | 32.1 | |
| 1920 | 30,070 | 21,771 | | | 8,299 | 27.7 | |

**APPENDIX II: TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF
PERCENTAGES OF INCOME SPENT FOR RENTS.**

| Number of Families | Per Cent. |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 64..... | 9 |
| 79..... | 8 |
| 26..... | 8.5 |
| 24..... | 9 |
| 109..... | 10 |
| 36..... | 11 |
| 47..... | 12 |
| 106..... | 12.5 |
| 74..... | 13 |
| 108..... | 14 |
| 17..... | 15 |
| 29..... | 16 |
| 170..... | 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ |
| 26..... | 17 |
| 148..... | 20 |
| 39..... | 22 |
| 154..... | 25 |
| 96..... | 30 |
| 75..... | 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ |
| 23..... | 35 |
| 44..... | 37.5 |
| 34..... | 40 |
| 8..... | 50 |
| <hr/> | |
| 1,536 | |



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